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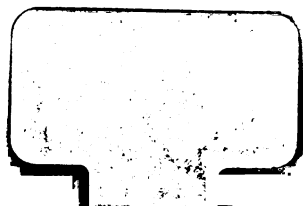
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THE SCYTHIC NATIONS,

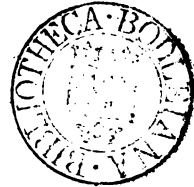
DOWN TO

THE FALL OF THE WESTERN EMPIRE.

By JOHN GENT, B.A.

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THE SCYTHIC RACES

TILL THE

FALL OF THE WESTERN EMPIRE.

§ 1. THE term "Scythic" has been at different times applied to nations in Europe and Asia on various grounds; of common nomadic habits; of geographical position; of supposed ethnological affinity. In this Essay it must be understood to include three classes of communities; first, the Scythians so-called by Herodotus; secondly, tribes nearly akin in race to the above; thirdly, mixed peoples, of which Scythians constituted a considerable element.

As the above description does not fix the extension of the name so definitely as could be desired, it is necessary to state why it is adopted here. This name was first introduced by the Greek colonists in the Euxine. Our authority for their notion of it is Herodotus. Therefore that use of the word is historically correct which is based upon the notion of Herodotus.

Again, this use of the word is the only one which does not totally conflict with some one or other of its later meanings. These either harmonize with Herodotus, or contain extensions or inferences from the view which he represents; but they are inconsistent with one another. This will appear from a brief review of the meaning of the word in subsequent geographers,

and other writers who spoke the opinion of their own times, and not in artificial or historical language. According to Strabo, the world was divided by Ephorus among four nations, Scyths, Celts, Æthiops, and Indians; that is to say, already in the early part of the fourth century B.C. the name of the furthest nation to the North-east with which the Greeks were in contact was applied to the whole of the tribes beyond it on the North and on the East. Four centuries later, Strabo himself states that Scythians were found south of the Danube; but that Scythia proper extended, the Lesser from the Danube and Dniester to the Borysthenes, and the Greater from the Borysthenes onward.

Soon after Strabo lived Pomponius Mela and Pliny, who exhibit the more vague opinion held by Romans, and formed at a period when Sarmatians were already predominant in Western Scythia. Mela divides Asia into three belts, Scythæ in the North, Seres in the centre, and Indi in the South. In Europe, Sarmatia extends from the Danube to the Asiatic Scythia, meeting the latter at the north of the Caspian; but there is also a European Scythia (apparently enclosed by Sarmatia), which extends from the Tanais to "the centre of the Euxine coast." The statement of Pliny is well known, that the name of Scythians (meaning perhaps the nation) had passed into those of Sarmatian and German; and the term was then only applied to the most remote tribes of these two countries.

In the middle of the second century A.D., the name of Scythia as a geographical division of Europe had been lost in Greece. The Scythia of Ptolemy is Asiatic; but he mentions a nation in European Sarmatia, called *Ἀλαῖνοι Σκύθαι*, who lived inland above the Palus Mæotis. About the same period Lucian, in his dialogues of Toxaris and Scythes, speaks of the Scythians as a nation whose position (about the Sea of Azof) needed no historical explanation, but was well known to the people for whom he wrote.

At the time of Ammianus the leading race are once more

Scythæ, and therefore the region resumes the name of Scythia; so that the later Greek writers call its inhabitants, even in the preceding period, by the geographical name of Scythians. Jornandes does the same, proceeding further to connect with these geographical Scyths (the Goths) all the old tales which were found in Herodotus or elsewhere of the original possessors of the name. In a similar spirit, Pinkerton, at the close of the eighteenth century, apologizes to his better-informed readers for bringing forward any proof of the identity between Getæ, Goths, and Scythians.

There is a very simple progress in the history of the word. The most prominent nation gives its name to the surrounding districts and to the whole unknown country behind. First the name is Scythia, then Sarmatia, then Scythia again. There would be Sarmatians in the Scythia of Ephorus, but they would also be geographically Scyths; there are Tauroscythæ and Alauni within Ptolemy's Sarmatia; and the Scythia of the late empire professes to be no more than geographical.

If it is necessary to refer our extension of this term to that in which it was employed by the people who introduced it, the following questions suggest themselves:—

I. What actual information do we possess about the compass of Scythia in the time of the early Greek colonists?

II. What indications of the affinities of the people are to be gathered from this information?

III. Are these indications supported by the traditions of their previous history; traditions either based on fact, or merely constituting concrete statements of the belief of later times?

§ 2. Although the geography of Scythia in Herodotus presents some difficulties which cannot be discussed here, yet he had seen the country, at least as far as Olbia¹, and no doubt furnishes a faithful account of what he heard from the mouths of Scythians and of Greek traders. Inland, north of the Crimea, were two nations most expressly distinguished from the Scy-

¹ He had also gone some distance inland (iv. 81).

thians, whom however they resembled, one in dress, the other in manners. These were *Ἀνδροφάγοι* and *Μελάγχλαινοι*. The language of Herodotus is so clear as to forbid any supposition of affinity here. The other boundaries, respecting which Herodotus is less positive, (for he only calls them boundaries of his square territory of Scythia, not expressly of the Scythian nation), are as follows. The Danube passes from Thrace into Scythia; its mouth, which is eastward, being in Scythia³ (iv. 99). Accurately speaking, Thrace is the limit, and not the Danube. North of the Danube, a little higher up, were the Sigynnæ⁴, then Agathyrsi, and so forth. Eastward, Scythia extended to the Tanais, supposed by Lindner to be the Donetz, a western tributary of the Don, continued to the mouth of the Don; by others, to be a confusion between Don and Volga; most probably the Don in all strictness. Within these limits certain non-Scythic populations occur: first, the Greeks, who were in contact with Hellenized Scythians, called Callipidæ, above Olbia; secondly, the Tauri, expressly stated to be of a different race, inhabited the south-eastern part of the peninsula called Chersonesus Taurica. Beyond Scythia were certain Scythian nations; the Scythæ who had seceded from the Royal tribe, east of the upper Tanais; probably also the Budini⁵, for the Geloni, from contact with them, had adopted a language half Greek and half Scythian; lastly, the Sauromatæ, north-east of the Sea of Azof, spoke a corrupt Scythian, and the Empire of Darius includes Sacæ, who, says Herodotus, are Amyrgian Scythians. Besides all these, the Neuri, Melanchlæni, and also the Massagetæ⁶ on the Araxes, resemble the Scythians in manners.

³ Cf. *supra* (page 2, top). In Strabo's time there were nomad Scythians south of the Danube, about Tomi and Dionysopolis.

⁴ In Hdt. iv. 48, the Sigynnæ appear to be included in *ἡ Σκυθική*; or they may have been situated on the lower course of some of the five Scythian tributaries; whilst the upper parts at least of all these were in Scythia.

⁵ This may be only loose language in Herodotus; as he says also that the Budini were redhaired, and autochthonous. But he appears to have regarded the Geloni as in the beginning exclusively Greek; if so, he probably considered the Budini to be Scythic; incorrectly, as will appear in the sequel.

⁶ Hdt. i. 201. 215.

Among the Scythian nations there is this great difference : the tribes inland between the Aluta and Tyras, and those situated on the Hypanis and Borysthenes, are, like the Geloni, agricultural ; whilst the Royal tribe, with the rest of the nation, is nomad.

§ 3. Such is our geographical information, given directly ; but knowledge of the physique, manners, and language of the people has a great weight of its own towards determining their extent and affinities. Such knowledge may be drawn, if need be, from writers later than Herodotus, provided that the identity of their subjects be assumed provisionally, and the traits described such as would naturally be permanent.

(a) For the physique of the Scythians Hippocrates is our most distinct authority ; he says they were very like each other, fat and loose in the belly, and scanty in hair. Against this description we may set two facts ; first, they formed the main body of the police at Athens, a service which would require powerful men ; secondly, they are distinguished by Lucian⁶ from the Alani, as wearing their hair long.

Hippocrates in other points does not display very accurate knowledge of Scythia ; for instance, he bounds it on the north by the Rhipæan mountains, and states simply that the Sauro-matæ are Scythians.

(b) The information which Herodotus gives us was probably derived from Greeks and Hellenes Scythæ, who detailed to him the most surprising practices of the pure Scythians. They are chiefly such as belong to utter barbarians. Polygamy is practised, at least by the kings ; the king's burial entails human sacrifices ; his power is absolute, so as to commit his people to slavery at pleasure, a slavery which is attended with cruel treatment. Their food is the flesh and milk of their horses. They are filthy, but luxurious ; fond of intoxication ; addicted to magic ; averse to Greek or foreign customs. Though they are said to be wise, Herodotus discovers no proof of their

⁶ ὁμόσκευοι καὶ ὁμόγλωττοι τοῖς Σκύθαις, πλὴν ὅτι οὐ πάντι κομῶσιν ὥσπερ οἱ Σκύθαι, i.e., " They certainly do not let their hair grow, as the Scythians do."

wisdom except their method of resisting an invader. Other writers confirm these statements. Hippocrates adds that they made tents of felt⁷, and cauterized their wounds; and gives particulars of the *θήλεια νόσος* mentioned by Herodotus. The persons visited with it assumed female dress and employment, and were honoured as prophets. The children were bred up on mares' milk⁸, from which cheese was made also, called *ἱππική*. The dress of the men was trousers and boots. (called *Σκυθικαί*), made probably from the inner bark of trees. Their wildness was tempered by policy, for they permitted, perhaps took part in, the commerce which passed between Asia and the Greek colonies. They allowed agriculture to be pursued, and exacted tribute from their subjects in return for the peaceful use of land. But the general notion in Greece was, that they were a people distinguished for impiety⁹, cruelty (whence the word *ἀποσκυθίζειν*, interpreted by Suidas of scalping), and drunkenness¹. Agreeably to this conception, we find that they delighted in war², hiring themselves out as mercenaries, and worshipped the sword; the Royal tribe, according to Herodotus, also reverencing Thamimasadas, the deity of a horse. They were at a very early period known as bowmen, for a line of Onomacritus, at the beginning of the fifth century B.C., is extant, which speaks of the *τοξοφόροι Σκύθαι*, *Ἄρεως πιστοὶ θεράποντες*.

But there is another side to the character. The life of a king Atheas³ is not the same in kind with that of a Toxaris. The early notices of the Scythians contain a perplexing number of statements which we cannot help regarding as inconsistent with each other, and only joined together through the ignorance

⁷ Like the Argippæi, and modern Kalmucks.

⁸ Cf. Æschylus in Strabo: *ἱππικῆς βοτῆρης εὐνομοὶ Σκύθαι*.

⁹ Celsus, pp. 873. 301.

¹ Hence, according to Eustathius, the Lacedæmonian expression *ἐπισκυθίζειν*. It was for this reason that the Persians called them *Sacæ*, which is interpreted to mean in Persian "Heluones"

² Justin, book xlii.

³ He said that he preferred the neighing of a horse to the piping of his Greek slave (Plut. Ap. Reg.).

of the Greeks. For this reason the two classes of notices are to be placed separately, and we now pass over to the second series. These present the Scythians as more mild in disposition, more advanced in cultivation, and more nearly approximating to other nations in religion. They were mild in disposition; for we hear of little or no opposition to the Greek colonies, such as was met with in Thrace. They are ready to receive Greek influences, intermarry freely with Greeks; and, if we may judge from the numerous barbarous names on the later coins of Olbiopolis and Panticapæum, formed after some time a very large element in the population of those cities. The Toxaris of Lucian exhibits the fidelity of their friendships; they honour Orestes and Pylades as heroes.

Again they are, even in Herodotus, greatly devoted to agriculture, which some of them practise solely for commerce. A tomb of the Scythian kings which has been opened discovered great architectural skill, and contained Greek vases, which testified at least to the taste of the people. Æschylus calls them *εὐνομοί*; Herodotus admits, and Thucydides expresses⁴, the reputation which they bore for wisdom. Several Scythian names had a great, though vague, renown in Greece; for though Herodotus calls Abaris a Hyperborean and mythical person, and though Anacharsis was connected with Thrace, as well as Scythia, yet both of these were certainly in common acceptation Scythians; and their stories indicate a popular impression regarding Scythian wisdom and virtue. The history of Toxaris is more distinct and probable; for Lucian, in the *Scythia*, records that he was commemorated on a pillar at Athens for his miraculous intervention in the great plague, and was regarded as a hero (*ξένος ἱατρός*), just as Orestes was in Scythia. Lucian⁵, although careless of chronological

⁴ Thuc. ii. 95; οὐ μὴν οὐδ' εἰς ἑλλην κ.τ.λ. is thus explained by the Scholiast, with great probability.

⁵ Toxaris is represented at one time as contemporary with *Solon*; at another, as speaking of a countryman of his, who was furnished with *darics*; and again, of *gladiatorial shows* at *Amastria*. Altogether, in the dialogue called *Toxaris*, the scene

propriety, yet commands a certain amount of confidence. He is not merely composing panegyrics on the Scythians, for he mixes together, like other writers, traits of barbarism and of civilization. The same people who instruct their children by the brazen tablet in a shrine of Orestes, are also represented as eating their dead parents, and cutting off the right hand of champions worsted in single combat. Again, Lucian was born at Samosata, and therefore was likely to possess some knowledge of the countries on the Euxine; which opinion he confirms by introducing details of geography and manners*.

With respect to the practice of commerce and agriculture, we know certain local limitations which may be significant. The mass of agricultural Scythians lay in the south-west, a region which is called by Herodotus ἡ ἀρχαίη Σκυθική; and the two chief commercial routes would appear to pass; one to the Baltic⁷ for amber, through the territory of the people who grew corn for sale; and the other, chiefly for furs, to the hunting tribes Budini, Thyssagetæ, and Jyrcaë, through the agricultural and half-Greek country of the Geloni. How far back this latter traffic dates, is proved by the mention in Aleman (B.C. 640) of Ἀσσέδωνες and Rhiphæan mountains.

Upon the Scythian religion Herodotus is our most copious informant. From him we learn that Ares was worshipped, though he did not know his Scythic name. The Scyth in Lucian swears by his gods Ἄνεμος and Ἀκινάκης. Undoubtedly Ἀκινάκης was the Herodotean Ἀρης. Thamimasadas, or Poseidon, was worshipped by the Royal Scythians only. Then appear various deities, belonging to a settled and somewhat cultivated people, incompatible with the elementary religion

is laid much later; cf. especially cap. 50. Cary ("Rois de Thrace et du Bospore"), with whose judgment Böckh agrees, refers to the time of Antoninus the story in the Toxaris about Leucanor and Eubiotus.

* e.g. the use of the words δικάζομαι, and ζῆλον; the statement that the Scythians do not practise libation; the explanation of their manner of imploring aid to avenge a wrong (τὸ ἐπὶ τῆς βίβης καθέσθαι), confirmed by Suidas.

⁷ Wherever the Eridanus (Hes. Theog. 338) be placed, the direction was the course of the Dniester. Cf. Kurd de Schlözer: Prem. Hab. de la Russie.

which is satisfied by witchcraft and the divinity of a sword and a horse. These are Papæus, Tabiti, and Apia; Zeus, Hestia, and Demeter. Lastly, more analogous to these last, but to be classed by themselves, are Cetosyrus, Artimpasa, and a god corresponding to Heracles. It is ascertained from coins that Heracles was worshipped in the Greek towns of Chersonesus², Panticapæum, and Phanagoria. Rochette has discovered in an inscription of the age of Alexander a monument of the worship by Sindi of Anerges and Astara; for which he suggests that *Ἐκαέργης* and *Ἀστερία* should be read.

Anacharsis, in the Scytha of Lucian, coming to Athens, appeals to Toxaris for conduct in the name of *Ἀκινάκης* and *Ζάμολξις*. Thus the Scythians had adopted zealously the worship of two heroes, Heracles and Zamolxis. The Greek colonies in Scythia were remarkable, in a similar way, for the worship of Heracles; and Olbiopolis for that of Achilles³. We should connect with these facts the report that Anacharsis alone, of all barbarians, was initiated at Athens, "*δημοσπόητος γενόμενος*."⁴

(c) Language, which ought to be the most instructive index to the relations of a people, furnishes but scanty material in the present instance. Of the general character of the Scythian dialects the following facts are ascertained⁵. There are found in the Scythian, and still more in the Sauromatic inscriptions, numerous traces of affinity with Medish and Persian. At the same time Scythian and Medish proper names, though apparently identical, appear in different forms as represented by the Greeks. Penultimates lengthened in the latter, are short in the former⁶. The Greek spoken by the Scythian policeman in the Thesmophoriazusæ has three peculiarities: the aspirated letters

² This, it should be mentioned, was a colony from Heraclea Pontica.

³ Attested by Arrian, Strabo, Dio Chrys. Or. Borysth. xxxvi.; and by inscriptions to "Achilles Pontarches."

⁴ Lucian, Scyth.

⁵ See Böckh, Corp. Inscr. Græc., Sarmatia.

⁶ Böckh traces Scythian names in the Mæotic inscriptions by the terminations, *āpos*, *ēpos*, &c., and contrasts Cyaxāres, Arsāces, with Toxāris.

θ , ϕ , χ , lose their aspirate; σ is substituted for τ ($\sigma\acute{\iota}$ for $\tau\acute{\iota}$); and the terminations of verbs and nouns are clipped, just as the envoy from the Persian king, in the *Achæmians*, says $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}$ $\lambda\eta\psi\epsilon\iota$ $\chi\rho\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\sigma\omicron$ for $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}$ $\lambda\eta\psi\epsilon\iota$ $\chi\rho\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\sigma\omicron\nu$. Besides this, we possess a few detached words, reported as Scythian. Of their national name $\Sigma\kappa\acute{o}\lambda\omicron\tau\omicron\iota$, no satisfactory explanations are given; some of the remaining words are satisfactorily dealt with by Rawlinson; amongst them two, $\text{'}\Delta\mu\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omicron\nu\epsilon\varsigma$ and $\omicron\acute{\iota}\omicron\rho\pi\alpha\tau\alpha$, which belong rather to the *Sauromatæ*, and whose Medish affinity is affirmed by Dubois, whilst he allows their apparent connexion with other Indo-Germanic languages. A Scyth, in battle, cries $\zeta\acute{\iota}\rho\omega$, and is admitted to treat for his life. This is referred by Bayer to the Thracian *Tyr* ($\Theta\omicron\upsilon\acute{\rho}\rho\alpha\varsigma$), a heroic ancestor, and the brother of *Zames*; *Tyr*, or *Thurras*, he connects with *Thor*, and *Zames* with *Zamolxis*, both the latter being referred to the Lettish word for *Earth*⁴. Böckh says that the word $\zeta\acute{\iota}\rho\omega$ is Sarmatian, meaning that it is not Mongol or Turanian. The names *Neuri* and *Budini* are referred by Schlözer to Slavonic words, *nur*, "a country;" and *budy*, "a wooden house." Böckh remarks in most of the geographical names a trace of the practice, which Herodotus noticed as universally prevalent among the Persians, of ending all nouns with sigma; finally, Schafarik has found the origin of Borysthenes in the Slavish "*Be-resten*"⁵.

Bayer refers the word $\Sigma\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\theta\eta\varsigma$ to a Finnish word signifying "archer," whilst Dubois identifies it with *Tschude*, the name by which the Russians knew the Finns upon the Baltic. Bayer also compares the Greek $\tau\upsilon\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$, "cheese," which he supposes to be probably Scythic, with the Lithuanian *tyre*, "porridge," noticing that a vast proportion of the words in the Lithuanian vocabulary were Finnish, owing to the ancient preponderance of the latter race on the south-east of the Baltic. Bayer lived

⁴ This will be mentioned subsequently.

⁵ This may very well be derived from Borysthenes; the middle syllable of which could then be compared with *Tanais*, &c.

a considerable time in Lithuania, studying the manners and language of the people.

§ 4. It yet remains, before we can distinguish the elements of Scythic population, that we should state the little direct historical information that we possess concerning their earlier movements; and the bearing, if that can be determined, of such traditions as the Classical writers have perpetuated.

1. Of the Tauri we are totally ignorant, with the exception of the details of their barbarity mentioned in Herod. iv.; and that Strabo states that they were partly pastoral, partly agricultural. There are two other tribes which resemble them in name: the Taurisci, who preceded the Celtic inhabitants of Noricum; and the Taurini, found during the principal period of Roman history about the Western Alps and Upper Apennines; in a situation, and of habits, very similar to the Tauri of the Chersonesus; and, like them, entirely distinct in race from the surrounding populations.

2. There is sufficient evidence regarding the Cimmerians to determine two facts; that the chief seat of their early civilization was eastward from the Crimea, in the country afterwards occupied by Mæotæ and Sauromatæ, and that they were an older race in those regions than the Scythians. The former of these statements is established by the remains of their stone monuments, illustrated by Dubois, and by the name applied in the Assyrian and Babylonian inscriptions to the northern tribes, *Gimiri*⁶. As to their priority, whilst no Scyths occur in Homer or Hesiod, the Cimmerians are spoken of in the Odyssey, and placed beyond the ocean in darkness. They appear from Callinus to have been devastating the west of Asia in company with the Thracian Treres, in the early part of the seventh century B.C.; and there is no reason to doubt that they occupied the Sinopic district for a considerable time. Hero-

⁶ Rawl. Anc. Mon. vii. 178. Sir. H. C. Rawlinson, however, explains this word to have a meaning in Babylonish; if so, it must have been communicated to the Greeks, and that before Homer's time. Possibly there may be an explanation of this difficulty. See Rawlinson's Hdt. iv. 210.

dotus mentions, besides the traces of their name in the Crimea, the existence also of the tomb of their princes on the Dniester.

We must connect with the Cimmerians the Scythini, who appear in the *Anabasis* west of Sinope, and separated only by a stream from the Chalybes; anticipating a little by noticing the tradition about these latter, that they were a Scythian colony⁷.

3. The early history of the nomad Scyths, or Sacæ, is chiefly what can be gathered from geographical names; all records that we possess are either uncertain or certainly unauthentic. We know from the Persian inscriptions that they lived about the Caucasus, as well as east of the Caspian; and the names of Scythopolis and Sacassene indicate the truth of an extensive inroad previous to the wars of Cyaxares in Lydia. For the detached Scythians⁸, whom Cyaxares first received into his service and then provoked, were undoubtedly the same as appear afterwards in Darius' Empire⁹, joined with the Caspii, who were situated on the Cyrus, west of the Caspian Sea; and the Sacassene of Strabo marked the position of this fragment of the nation, isolated like the Asiatic Galatia, and the Indian Sacastene. A confirmation of this leading fact is found by Dubois¹ in the Georgian chronicle, which records an invasion of Asia Minor in the seventh century B.C. by the Khazars, united under one king. They overran all Western Asia, except Colchis; and returning, placed their captives in the Sauromatic territory under a Khazar king, son of the supreme monarch.

It is probable that the royal and leading families had made some advances towards acquaintance with the Greek colonies on the coast; although the name of Anacharsis is surrounded with many associations that belonged more properly to an older race; and Herodotus betrays the real condition of the people when he

⁷ Aesch. Sept. 729: *χάλυβος Σκυθῶν ἄποικος*.

⁸ Hdt. i. 73. The historian implies that they all went to Lydia; this is idle, and may be compared with the previous extermination of Scythians by Cyaxaris; and with the *total* expulsion of the Cimmerians by the Scythians.

⁹ Hdt. iii. 93.

¹ This chronicle is elsewhere stated by Dubois to be partly at least founded on Chaldean history.



says that they disclaimed any knowledge of Anacharsis, and set up Octamasadas in the place of Scyles, from their bitter anger at the conduct of the latter.

§ 5. We must proceed to discuss the ethnic relations of those populations, first upon the evidence of the above facts, secondly from the indications of tradition.

1. The Tauri were remarkable for their worship of Artemis, whom they propitiated with human sacrifices. Now Astarte, the principal Phenician goddess, was strictly the goddess of the moon; but she was identified by the Greeks with Aphrodite Urania. Aphrodite Urania was the Scythian Artimpasa, according to Herodotus. Lastly, the Phenician worship was notoriously addicted to human sacrifice. Probably, therefore, the Tauric Artemis was a deity introduced by the Phenicians²; and Artimpasa was the same deity introduced into Scythia.

Comparing the position of the Tauri with that of the Alpine Taurini, and recollecting the former settlement of a people of similar name in Noricum³, it seems likely that they belonged to a race once widely spread, and afterwards pressed back into the more inaccessible districts of Central Europe. It is not unlikely that they were Finns, but this is mere conjecture; for the resemblance in manners which is found between certain Caucasian tribes and the Baltic Finns⁴, and the actual Finnish origin which is claimed for other Caucasians, e.g. the Galgai,—may be alike explicable by the subsequent theory of the Nomad-Scyths.

2. We have stated the historical connexion of the Cimmerii with Thrace, the Dniester, the Crimea, and the Palus Mæotis. Herodotus' account of their irruption into Asia, chased by the

² Ammianus (ch. xxii.) mentions a Phenician colony called *Tópos*, near the river Tyras.

³ Rawlinson is inaccurate in stating (Hdt. iv. 103) that the Taurini are acknowledged as Gauls by Polybius. Polybius (ii. 15, § 8) says: "Across and on the Alps live Transalpine Gauls; on the Italian plains next to them, the Taurini and Agones. The Transalpine Gauls are so called," &c., "next come the Ligystini, Umbri," and so forth. However, it should be mentioned that the *Tauri*, &c., are by some connected with the Celtic "*dor*" or "*tor*," a hill. Cf. Amédée Thierry "*Histoire des Huns*," i. 337, note.

⁴ Cf. Dubois, vol. i. p. 148.

Nomads, is in a high degree authentic. He certainly might seem to imply, but he does not state, that they entered Asia by the east coast of the Black Sea; whilst the contemporary Greek poets exactly corroborate his account of their ravages in the west. As we learn from Strabo that they were great pirates, it seems not unlikely that the general view, that they entered Asia by way of Thrace, is correct. Niebuhr and Böckh are undoubtedly right in supposing that the Scythæ Aroteres, and Georgi were of a race previous to the Nomads; and Schlözer is right in presuming that great numbers of the Cimmerii remained during the period of Scythic supremacy, in their old abodes⁵. Possibly, as Schlözer observes, their name was a Semitic one, conferred by Phenician mariners.

Thus confused in name with the Scythæ, we may trace the course of those Cimmerians who were expelled from the Sinopic Chersonesus by the Lydians. Undoubtedly they were the Scythini and Chalybes of the Pontus, placed a little farther east than Sinope. With this identification accords the narrative of the Georgian Chronicle, that the Nomads, in their raid in Asia, passed aside from Colchis.

The Cimmerians were probably Indo-German; and we may attach to the same stock the Sigynnæ, who claimed descent from the Medes. Although at a later period their piracy perhaps checked Greek colonization, yet it is to this Cimmerian race that we must refer the early prosperity of Scythian commerce. Guided originally by the Phenician merchants, from whom probably the worship⁶ of Heracles (supra, page 9) was immediately derived, they established the two great commercial routes mentioned above (page 8). The Geloni, half Greek and half Scythian, were a fragment of the nation left on the borders of the Budini and the Nomads. Further, it is to these Cimmerian Scythians that we would ascribe the character of εὐνομοί; it

⁵ It is to this cause chiefly that we must ascribe the subsequent Hellenization of many of the Scythians, and also the inconsistency in several points of the Scythic manners which Lucian describes. (Supra, page 8.)

⁶ Cf. Hdt. ii. 44.

was they who were prompt in accepting foreign manners and new divinities (page 9); they who worshipped Papæus Tabiti and Apia⁷, and the deities of the Sun and the Moon. The early Greek tradition of a Hyperborean cultus of Apollo leads us to suppose that *Oîróσypos* at least, if not *Ἀρτίμyαcα* (see page 13) was a genuine inheritance of the race, common to them with the Asiatic Medes.

We cannot proceed to identify the Cimmerii with the Cimbri, though Bayer finds in the Celtic meaning of the latter word ("wrestlers," hence "latrones") a certain appropriateness to the piratical character of the former people. But it is necessary to follow up the indications of their Thracian connexion. In the mouth of a Greek, Thrace, like Scythia, was a mere geographical term, with the additional complication that it was not particularly the property of any one dominant tribe. Again, as the term Scythia was applied absolutely to the Scythian dominion and all the races which it comprehended, we must expect to find the Cimmerian relations of the Thracians indicated by this term. And as the Nomads likewise penetrated into Thrace, such notices as may refer to these are to be eliminated. In this class may be placed almost all notices of distinct Scythian tribes, so called, in later contemporary writers, or in such as treat of Thracian history after Herodotus; the Scythæ mentioned as a tribe in Mæsia by Ptolemy; the pastoral Scyths in Strabo, who allowed their land to be cultivated on tribute; the Scythians in the army of Boerebistas, who was contemporary with Augustus, and probably led the Getæ in their devastation of the Greek cities⁸. As there was a substratum of older population in the dominion of the Nomads, who on their side had thrown detachments across the Danube,

⁷ It is worthy of notice, that most of the Scythian names of gods are satisfactorily connected with Aryan roots by Rawlinson; and that perhaps the most forced and improbable of all these attempts is the explanation of the word *Thamimasadas*.

⁸ Dio Chrys. Borysth. ii. Cf. Niebuhr: *Researches into the History of the Scyths*. In later times Scythians and Thracians were confounded in name; thus Hesychius of Miletus speaks of *Odryses*, king of the Scythians.

so within the Herodotean Scythia, Arrian makes mention of a town of the Getæ. It is these Getæ who must principally be identified with the Cimmerians. According to Thucydides, the Getæ were *ἄμοροι καὶ ὁμόσκεινοι τοῖς Σκύθαις*; Strabo connects together the names of Getæ, Mysi (Mæsiens), and Daci, all partly north of the Danube; and says that the Getæ were only eastern Daci. The Daci coincide with the Agathyrsi of Herodotus, who were barbarous, having community of wives, but resembled the Thracians in other points. Zalmoxis, who became a Scythian hero, was called a Getan. The Agathyrsi, then, were the most remote and therefore barbarous portion of a nation which comprised Cimmerians and Getæ. This nation also extended farther; there was a Thracian language spoken by many other peoples besides the Daci and Getæ; there were Mysi, who can hardly be disconnected from the Mysi of Asia Minor; there were Caucones in Bithynia, whom, according to Strabo, some called Scythian. Where the most uncivilized tribe used wives in common, other tribes practised polygamy; according to Strabo, the Getæ; according to Herodotus, certain Thracians who lived above the Crestonians.

The connexion between regal families is not to be insisted upon as any proof of national affinity; therefore, although M. Raoul Rochette appears to have grounds even for his extreme assertion, that the dynasty which succeeded Polemo I. at Bosphorus belonged to a Thracian Royal family; and a similar alliance is found between the Nomad kings and Thracians⁹; yet Böckh is justified in denying any close national intercourse in the former instance; and we can draw no conclusions from the latter.

This Cimmerian nation, then, was that over which the Nomads established their supremacy; not without difficulty, for the long war with their slaves on the return from Asia, doubtless represents the protracted resistance of the older people. It was on account of this great western extension of the Cimmerians,

⁹ Cf. Rawlinson's note on Hdt. iv. 80.

that we hear of the Borysthenes as mythical mother of the Scythic nation ; the elder brother of Scythes was Agathysrus ; elder in his European life ; but brother, as having practised at an earlier time the same roving and pastoral habits. The prospect of Thrace in the age of Homer is presented in the 13th Iliad :—

δόσφιν ἐφ' ἱπποδάμων θρησκῶν καθορώμενος αἶαν,
 Μυσῶν τ' ἀγχεμέχων, καὶ ἀγαυῶν ἱππημολγῶν,
 γλαυκοφάγων ἐβίων τε, δικαιοτάτων ἀνθρώπων.

Before tracing this people farther, we must turn to the rest of the Herodotean names—the Nomads, the Sauromatæ, and the Budini, with their neighbours on both sides.

3. Herodotus gives two tales of the origin of the Scythians, one from their own authority, the other from the Pontic Greeks. In the first, rejecting the theories which have been hung upon the word Targitaus, we find one indication of value in the name of those cousins of the Scythians who were called *Κατίαροι*. It will appear in the sequel to be possible that the Khazars, *eo nomine*, were intended. The story invented by the Greeks was doubtless to account for all the populations which they were acquainted with in Scythia. To do this, three eponymous brethren were introduced, representing the most distinct types which were to be found in the Nomad empire. The first were Agathysri, the independent, and therefore least adulterated, section of the Cimmerians ; as independent of the Nomads as the Tauri were, for this they showed in the war against Darius¹ ; but to be connected with Scyths in the legend, for the sake of their numerous kinsmen under Scythian supremacy. The second type was that of the Geloni ; the Greeks, we must remember, called the Budini by this name² ; they were to be included, because, as is again indicated in the Persian invasion, they were a dependency of the Nomads.

The Budini are placed by Herodotus east of the Upper Don, in a woody country ; and are described as *γλαυκὸν ἰσχυρῶς καὶ πυρρὸν ἔθνος*. For this reason Schafarik considers them Slavic,

¹ Hdt. iv. 119.

² Hdt. iv. 109.

and Völcker³ thinks it necessary to suppose that Herodotus was misinformed about the Upper Don, confusing it with the Volga, and so straying westward. But they were probably Finns⁴, belonging to the older Turanian population settled from the first in Europe. They claimed to be autochthonous. But a very little way north of their Herodotean settlement live the Ugrian Votiaks, thus described by Latham:—"In no Finnic tribe—perhaps in no other tribe in the world—is fiery red hair so common as among the Votiaks. . . . They are also, most probably, an unmixed population; since none of their neighbours live so exclusively to themselves as the Votiaks." Since the time of Herodotus they have advanced to an agricultural life. If their Herodotean name is Slavic (*supra*, p. 10), it must have been given them by their neighbours⁵. In default, however, of other evidence, we may admit that the Neuri⁶ were probably Slaves, as also perhaps the Melanchlæni and Androphagi. But the Melanchlæni may have been also Finnish, as they are mentioned in the *Periplus of Scylax*⁷, along with the Geloni, under Caucasus. Undoubtedly the Geloni there mentioned were a Finnish remnant, as we meet also with Geli, near the Caucasus, in Strabo.

Herodotus gives also two accounts of the manner in which the Scythæ came to appear about the Black Sea. To proceed

³ See Grote, iii. 327.

⁴ This theory accounts for the Finnish termination (*lainen*) in the name of the Roxolani, who first appear (Strabo, vi.) between the Don and the Dnieper, where Herodotus places the Androphagi and Melanchlæni. Their neighbours were thus Finns. However, the awkward fact remains, that Finns call the Swedes "*Ros*," and that the Ravenna geographer refers the Roxolani to a Scandinavian neighbourhood. Strabo in this passage places the Bastarnæ near the Roxolani, and southward. These are identified by Götterer with the Androphagi, whom he therefore considers German. If this be so, Herodotus furnishes us with no old Slavish tribes except the Neuri.

⁵ We perhaps find a trace of the name in the town Budovitzs, a little south of Orel.

⁶ Schlözer says that the story of their conversion into wolves is still current in White Russia. Their permanent situation would be in Volhynia, not with the Budini. (Heeren.)

⁷ This is not the genuine narrative of the circumnavigator employed by Darius, nor certainly older than the Alexandrine period. Unless confirmed, its authority is small.

first to that of Aristæas²; we obtain from it the Greek doctrine, current from the time of Herodotus, that they had been pressed forward from the east or north-east, and also the name of Issedones, as next neighbours of the Scythians. In Herodotus' own description of the country, they are in a similar position, south of the Argippæi, separated from the Persian empire by the Massagetæ³, and from the Scythians only by the Sauromatæ. The relation which Herodotus himself inclines to believe, is that the Massagetæ pressed the Scythians into Europe across the Araxes. Elsewhere he says (iv. 40) that the Araxes flows towards the rising sun (apparently into the Caspian); and again, that it was crossed by the Persians in their war with the Massagetæ. Cyrus probably only crossed the Oxus, which should be identified with the Araxes of iv. 40, as the description there is proceeding eastward—Caspian, Araxes, India. But the tradition in iv. 11 referred to the Volga, the Rha of Ptolemy; which Bayer finds to be named Araxes in Agathemerus¹.

Of the nations east of the Budini, the Thyssagetæ and Argippæi are considered by Schlözer Finnish rather than Mongolian or Turk; the latter being identified with the Bashkirs, who are substantially Finnish. Heeren goes too far east in placing the Budini, Jyrcæ, and Thyssagetæ east of the Urals (although even thus they would answer to the Finnish Ostiaks and Voguls); and in treating the Argippæi, Massagetæ, and Issedones, he is altogether speculative². Strabo specifies three nations of Scythic origin in Asia; Dahæ, Sacæ, and Massagetæ. The Dahæ are connected with one of the Persian nomad tribes in Herodotus

¹ Bayer supposes that Bion of Proconnesus may have written the *Arimaspea*; it was certainly an ancient poem, as may be seen from the specimens of its contents which he quotes from Longinus, Aulus Gellius, &c. See "*De Originibus Scytharum*" in his *Opuscula*.

² Cf. *Hdt. i. sub fin.*

³ It is singular that in the passage of Aristotle (*Met. i.*) quoted by Grote (*Part II. c. 94*), the Asiatic Araxes should be a branch of the Tanais. Possibly, as Niebuhr affirms, the soldiers of Alexander really mistook the Jaxartes for the European Tanais; and this was the beginning of the application of the name *Scythæ* to Siberians, to whom it was afterwards restricted.

² See his "*Asiatic Researches*," vol. ii.

(i. 125), called Dai. Their connexion with the Daci, grounded chiefly upon the form Davus, employed like Geta as a name for slaves in the later comedy, cannot be admitted. It is true that a Scythian origin might be erroneously inferred from nomadic life; but the elements of population are so confused in and above Persia, that we may conclude the Dahæ to have been, as Strabo says, Scythian. We know of the confusion of peoples by the mixed character of the Persian language, which is said to be apparently non-Aryan in structure, though Aryan in vocabulary. Strabo calls the Parthians a colony from the Dahæ; Ammianus terms the Persians, "originitus Scythæ;" Justin (lib. ii.) says that both Parthi and Bactri were descended from Scythians. In Bactria, however, as even in Sogdiana, the geographical names mentioned by Ptolemy point to an Indian population. Yet Epitumenes acted with a body of Scythians against Alexander in Bactria. The Scythic race was more prominent in Bactria and Parthia than in Persia, as may be inferred by the aptitude which the two former states displayed for Hellenization³. The fall of the Arsacids before the Persian Sassanids was caused by a movement of Orientals against Hellenic ascendancy. Arsaces VI. (Mithridates), who annexed part of Bactria, is called *Φιλέλλην* on coins; and the Arsacid dynasty continued in Bactria after their expulsion from Armenia by Sapor, in the fourth century after Christ⁴.

We know something of the earlier or later history of two out of the three races mentioned by Strabo; but who were the Sacæ? It was the general Persian name for Scythians; it would therefore be naturally applied to the most remote or least known tribes, instead of a specific name. In the year B.C. 90, a people called Hunjo were expelled from China, and disappeared westward. In the year 56 B.C., India received an irruption of Sacas or Sacæ from the north-west. Soon after the Christian era, the

³ They were not, therefore, pervaded by the spirit of Oriental civilization, which abhorred Hellenism.

⁴ At least Sapor was warring with them in Bactria about A.D. 380.

Greek kings of Bactria were supplanted in all probability by barbarians. In the time of Priscus, the White Huns were settled in the regions around Bactria or Sogdiana. Soon afterwards the Persian king Peroses is found first in alliance and afterwards at war with them. It is likely that the Indian Sacas, the Sacæ of Strabo, the Hunjo of the Chinese, and the White Huns of Turkistan, were all of one race. They were not Finns, and do not belong to our present subject; and they are quite unconnected with the old Scythian element about the lower Caspian and Caucasus.

Herodotus apparently thought⁵ that the story of the arrival of the Scythians (supra, page 19) alluded to a journey by the Caucasus and south of the Caspian. If he so misunderstood it, he was at least warranted in thinking of Scythian relations southward by this fact, that there have been numerous Finnish peoples near the Caucasus; peoples not, like the Sacæ in Armenia, distinctly recognized as Scythian by their neighbours; but who were originally of Turanian blood. Latham states⁶ that the language of the inhabitants of Lazistan, of the Mingrelians, and of the Ossetians, is alike Turanian in formation, although chiefly Aryan in vocabulary. Now the Lazi⁷ do not appear in history till the fifth century after Christ; but they are not spoken of as new comers into the Pontic country. The Mingrelians, according to Dubois, have called themselves Kadsariah since the tenth century at least; the name Khazar was known, as we have already seen (page 12) at a very early period to the Georgian nations; the Mingrelians, therefore, either considered themselves a remnant of the historical Khazars of the early Byzantine period, or claimed a still more antique relationship in blood with the Southern Finns. Of the Ossetians a large proportion were probably Medes; perhaps those who are said in

⁵ See the concluding words of Hdt. iv. 13: οὕτω δὲ οὐδὲ οὗτος (sc. Aristæus) συμπέρεται περὶ τῆς χώρας ταύτης Σκύθῳ.

⁶ "Varieties of Man," pp. 116 foll.

⁷ The name, however, occurs in Lucian's *Toxaris*. He remarks that the Scythians do not make libations, like the Lazi and Machlyes.

the Georgian chronicle to have come south of Caucasus about B.C. 215, were a part of the Sauromatæ, who had emancipated themselves and spread even to the Danube before the time of Alexander. Nevertheless the bulk of the nation must be accounted Finnish, and was therefore either a fragment of the Herodotean Scyths, who invaded Asia, or more probably an original branch of the Massagetæ.

There are some other names, which, as might be expected, become more prominent after the Sarmatian dispersion, between the Caucasus and Mæotis. Among the nations subject to the Bosporan kings are Mæti, Sindi, Dandarii, Toretæ, and Thatæ. Herodotus mentions Sindica (iv. 86); and the Sindi are called by Ammianus (bk. xxii.), "Ignobiles, post heriles in Asia casus, conjugiiis potiti dominorum et rebus." He places them west of the Crimea, in an island near the *δρόμος Αχιλλέως*. The Dandarii occur in the Mithridatic period. They had their own kings, or *δυνάσται*. It was a Dandarian⁸ in the service of Mithridates who tried to assassinate Lucullus. The Dandaridæ of Tacitus (Annal. xii. 16) are subjects, apparently not very loyal, of another Mithridates of Bosphorus. As the Sindi moved westward, so also, thinks Böckh, had the Saian people; to whom and their king Saitapharnes, Olbia, with many tribes around, is tributary in the first or second century before Christ⁹.

Respecting the Sindi, we can hardly help conjecturing some Cimmerian origin. Already in the time of Herodotus their name was an ancient one, attached to a district; and the words of Ammianus carry their own significance with them. The rest of the above names, which Böckh considers Herodotus to have merged in the general term of *Μαυραί* (iv. 123), cannot be referred with certainty to any class. They may, as Rawlinson suggests¹, be akin to the *Μῆδοι*; but the resemblance even in

⁸ Cf. Plut.: Lucullus, § 16. So Plutarch; but Appian says, a Scythian.

⁹ See the inscription of Protogenes. Niebuhr considers Saitapharnes a Getan, a conquering successor of Ariparnes.

¹ They would then of course bear out his theory of the Medes in Europe; the circumstance that they had given a name to the Sea, forbidding us to connect them

name is very slight. Equally problematical is Dubois' discovery of his favourite Ossetes (or As) in the inscription of Parisades², B.C. 340. We should like to connect all the Mæotic tribes with the ancient Cimmerians, as this would furnish an explanation of the Aryan roots found by Böckh in the Sarmatian inscriptions, and would also confirm the theory of the eastern extension of the Cimmerians³.

We come now to the Massagetæ; the evidence for their Scythic descent is threefold. First, we have met with no non-Finnish Turanians on the confines of Europe till long after the time of Herodotus; secondly, they are described by Herodotus as Scythian⁴ in dress and manner of life, and as called sometimes by that name among Greeks⁵; thirdly, they are expressly identified by Ammianus⁶ with the Alani, who will presently be proved to be Scythic. That this identity was universally believed, is apparent from the disappearance⁷ of the name Massagetæ when the Alani have become prominent. The story of the expedition of Cyrus illustrates a trait which is somewhat noticeable in these South-eastern Finns. They are said to be governed by a queen⁸, who had succeeded her husband. So, when the Sacan king had been murdered by Cyaxares, Zarina⁹ succeeded and fought against him with the alliance of the Parthians. Similarly, Tacitus deplores the degradation of the Sitones (Finns), who are governed by a woman; and observes of the savage Fenni, that women among them hunt like the men for sustenance. Dubois affirms that there were female

with the Sauromatic colony, which was comparatively recent, and is also placed by Herodotus somewhat inland.

² He is called king *ἄσων καὶ μαρῶν καὶ θατέων*.

³ Among the tribes which welcomed Mithridates on his way to Bosphorus, were Achæi; there was a hero Achaicarus honoured at Bosphorus (whose name Rochette would needlessly substitute for *Ἀκινδανς* in Lucian). These facts point to an early intercourse and amalgamation of Greeks and Cimmerians in that quarter.

⁴ Regarding the name Spargapises (Hdt. i. 211), cf. supra, p. 16.

⁵ Hdt. i. 216.

⁶ xxiii. 5; xxxi. 2.

⁷ With the exception, as far as I know, of but one instance.

⁸ Called Tomyris by Herodotus, Sparethra by Ctesias (in Strabo).

⁹ Her story is put together from various sources in the *Asiatic Journal* for 1830.

warriors in the Caucasus down to the seventeenth century. It appears that the limited *γυναικοκρατία* of the Sacæ and Massagetæ occurred also not unfrequently at Panticapæum. A coin of Ininthemerus, whom Raoul Rochette supposes to be a Scythic prince, descended from Scilurus, not much later certainly than the Mithridatic period, bears the portrait of a queen of Bosphorus. There are coins of Gepæpyris, who reigned at the beginning of the Christian era, after the death of her husband Sauromates I.

These facts have some relation to the mythical Amazons. With what districts were Amazons associated? By Herodotus¹ (1), with Asia, towards Pontus; (2), with the Sauromatæ. By Isocrates (3), with the Scythians, as invaders of Attica, before the Trojan war. By Plato² (2), with the Sauromatæ again. By common fame (1), with the Thermodon; whence came the Amazonian queen to Alexander. We know of Scythians who allowed female rule, in the neighbourhood of Bosphorus, and east of the Caspian. Can we connect these more nearly still with the Thermodon and the Sauromatæ? 1. Ammianus³ speaks of the Massagetæ, as though in the time of Pompey they had been near the Albanians, south-west of the Caspian. 2. The Lazi were Finns, placed where we know them historically, on the Pontic coast. 3. The Scyths of the Nomad race had great intercourse with the Bosporite empire and its rulers. 4. This is problematical; but in Herodotus, iv. 23, there is a reading not altogether worthless, of *Λαζίων* for *λαζίων*. Were it correct, it would be a valuable link between the Thermodon and Upper Sauromatica. At any rate, whether the Amazons were specially Finns or not, there is no evidence for their being Sauromatides in reality; when the Sarmatians come into greater

¹ iv. 110, foll. Justin (bk. ii.) gives an account in the main similar; Hippocrates also says that the Sauromatæ, who are Scyths, have Amazonian wives.

² The Athenian in the Laws (vii. § 804) says: οἶδα ὅτι μυριάδες ἀναρίθμητοι γυναικῶν εἰσὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν Πόντον, ὡς Σαυρομάτιδας καλοῦσιν, αἷς οὐχ ἵππων μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τόξων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅπλων κοινωνία καὶ τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἴση προστεταγμένη ἰσως ἀσκεῖται.

³ xxiii. 5.

prominence in history, this part of their reputation is altogether lost⁴.

Aristotle⁵ considers it nothing less than an inevitable tendency on the part of warlike nations to submit to female dominion, unless the circumstances, as with the Celts, are exceptional. Perhaps there is nothing really Amazonian in the stories of the Sacæ and Massagetæ, and in the history of Bosphorus. In any case the female warriors, such as gave occasion to Greek legend, were probably Scythian. The Sauromatæ themselves, not being situated quite on the coast, were imperfectly known to Herodotus and Hippocrates. The account of them given in page 12, is confirmed by Diodorus Siculus (ii. 43), who calls them transplanted Medes, and agrees with the rest of our knowledge about them⁶. Their name is derived by Gütterer from the Lithuanian *Szauře*, "North", so as to be "Northern Medes." The similar name, "Syrmatæ," is found in a nation placed by Pliny on the Indus; and in another, mentioned by Ptolemy and Ammianus, in Colchis. Scylax, who fixes a separate tribe of that name west of the Tanais, is of no value, as we have seen before. Placed among the northern nations, the Medish colony would readily acquire the Scythic language and manners. The Greeks would not be able to criticize the accuracy of their Scythic speech; possibly, as Böckh suggests, the Scythian which was most familiar to Greek ears, was itself far from pure, being spoken by the subject population. An equally rapid adoption of a Turanian language by subject aliens is mentioned by Latham, in the instance of the Turkish empire of Roum. It is not unlikely that there was, as Herodotus' story suggests, a superfluity of women from the very first; the deficiency would be supplied by the Scythian nation, and a community of mixed-origin would be the result. Imitation of the dominant race conferred the most

⁴ Only in Polyænus (viii. 56) there is a story of Amage, who took the reins of government from her incapable husband Medosaccus, king of the Sauromatæ. This is previous to the time of Mithridates.

⁵ Politics, ii. 9.

⁶ See Böckh, Corp. Inscr. Gr. ii., Introduction to Sarmatian Inscriptions.

characteristic Scythian habits upon their captives. Tacitus remarked of the Sarmatians in Transylvania (*Hist.* iii. 5), that their only arm was cavalry. When they were thus assimilated, it was nothing strange that they should usurp the supremacy of the plains. In partially or wholly unsettled races, the ascendancy which depends on prescription and prestige alone is usually brief. Revolutions have not such terror as to secure a feeble dynasty or a feeble tribe in authority. Instances of this will not be wanting in the later life of the Scythic family.

§6. In noticing the Herodotean tales about the Nomads, we have reviewed all their neighbours, and have assumed provisionally that the Nomads themselves were Ugrian, or Finnic. The complete proof of this fundamental fact is to be obtained by connecting the modern Hungarians with the Scyths. To state it definitely, what we maintain is this; and it is partly yet to prove, partly proved already. First, that there were two strata of Ugrian population in Europe; that one which included Budini, Tauri, Taurisci, Ligurians, Basques (perhaps Libyans of Africa); and that which included the Nomad Scyths, Black Huns, Khazars, Alani, the Sacæ of the Persian Empire, and some smaller tribes. It is difficult to say to which of these two divisions we should assign the Finns of the Siberian frontier,—Thyssagetæ, Jyrcæ, Argippæi; or those of the Caucasus. Both are near the frontier of Europe, as if they were recent comers; both are in secluded positions,—towards the north and in the mountains,—as if they had been pressed back by other populations.

Within the Scythic area, in point of age midway between the early and later Finns, extending from the Caucasus to far up the Danube valley, is the Aryan people which we have chosen to call Cimmericians. Behind these is a second Aryan colony. Both of them appear indissolubly mixed, in a few centuries, with the Turanians. It is this physical peculiarity of the country which gives to the term Scythian a real and distinct meaning. All the races which have reached, and inhabited for any considerable time, the southern plains of Russia, acquire, instead of

their national type of character, a totally new cast of disposition, constitution, and habits; freed from the restrictions of settled states, they blend easily and rapidly with the previous inhabitants, or become, after some generations, just such a population as these were before them. The whole country takes a name at different periods from the most prominent nation; not merely for geographical convenience, but because there is in fact little difference, except in blood, among the component tribes. And this assimilation undoubtedly favoured a general mixture of blood also, so that in the Scythic nation would be much Cimmerian blood; much both of Cimmerian and Scythic, in the Sarmatians; of Sarmatian in the Huns, and, before them, in the Getæ and the Goths.

§ 7. The history of the Scythians is thus a history of national revolutions more radical and more difficult to understand than those which occur in civilized empires. We shall first sketch the career of the tribe which was dominant in the time of Herodotus, and which has given a name to all the succeeding masters of the country.

That incursion into Asia which Herodotus asserted to have stopped at Palestine, is continued by Diodorus⁷ and Justin into Africa. This tradition, together with the parallel story related of Egyptian conquests in the North, and told by the priests with certain variations to Herodotus and to Germanicus, probably owed its exaggeration to a desire to account for known but inexplicable resemblances between tribes about the Caucasus and others in Northern Africa⁸. The fact, however, of a Scythian

⁷ i. 105. Diodorus's account of Scythia is not very instructive. He calls their ancestors Palus and Napa; which may indicate an appropriation of the name rather to Western Scythia, as they suggest the *Spali*, whom the Goths of Jornandes cut through on their way to the Crimea, and perhaps the river *Naparis*, a northern tributary of the Danube.

⁸ See Herodotus' notice (iv. 172) of the customs common to Libyans and Massagetæ; the occurrence (vii. 71.) of a Libyan name, *Massages*, son of *Oarizus*; the *Machlyes* near Bosphorus, mentioned in Lucian. Arnold mentions the supposed connexion of northern African peoples with Spain; which was originally Basque, that is, like the rest of Europe in the earliest period, Finnish.

advance as far as Palestine seems to be confirmed by the chapters of the prophet Ezekiel⁹, considered by Dubois to be a contemporary witness, which mention the hosts of Gog, coming "out of the north parts, all of them riding upon horses;" with bows in their left hands, and arrows in their right hands.

If they penetrated to the South as conquerors, their farthest journey westward was less glorious. Herodotus' narrative of the Scythian flight before Darius is not perfectly authentic, but it furnishes an explanation of the remote position of two Scythic tribes, which is not improbable, if it is not certainly correct. These are the *Χούννοι*, placed by Ptolemy between the Basternæ and Roxolani; and the Sciri, who are mentioned in the Olbian inscription (abt. B.C. 200) as before Olbia; in Pliny, as near the Venedi, on the Vistula; and by Jornandes, as a portion of the Alani¹. Dubois' extreme hypothesis, which supposes an entire dislocation of the northern populations, involving the transfer of Geloni and Melanchlæni to the Caucasus², is in itself unlikely, and in its application to these particular tribes impossible; for it would have been known to Herodotus.

The seat of the ruling Scoloti was within easy reach of the Greek colonies. We have already noticed the attraction which these foreign settlers had begun early to exercise on the barbarian princes; the succeeding history of the Nomads is the illustration of a decline in strength, due solely to advancing culture. As they imitated, or were absorbed by, the Grecian states, their pre-eminence in Scythia was divided between the Sarmatians and the Getæ. Already in the time of Alexander, a division of Sauromatæ had reached the Danube. We hear no more that the Scythians called themselves Scoloti; doubtless the Greek appellation of Scythæ soon supplanted the native name. The

⁹ Ezek. xxxviii., xxxix.

¹ Among the nomad Huns subject to Dengizich, after A.D. 455, occurs the name of *Angisciri*.

² Ammianus (xxxi.), whom Dubois quotes, really places all the Herodotean names in north-eastern Scythia; vaguely enough, but not so vaguely as to seem to say what Dubois supposes.

nation was divided, and appears in history at intervals here and there within its former empire. In the time of Philip³, King Atheas was at war with the Istriani, the Getæ being comprised in this term⁴. Philip attacked him wantonly, and carried off, says Justin, 20,000 mares for breeding. However, while Alexander was in Parthia, his prefect, Zopyrion, was cut off by the Scythians⁵.

Diodorus (xx. 24) mentions a Scythian king Agarus, engaged against the Thracian (*i.e.* Getan) Ariparnes in the war about the Bosporite succession.

Niebuhr has proved that at this period there was a Thracian empire about the Dnieper (though, according to Böckh, there is no evidence that they extended eastward of it), which reached to the Danube, to which belonged the Thracians who conquered Lysimachus⁶, and which justified the name given to that district by Strabo, of "the Getan Steppe⁷." Both Atheas and Agarus ruled therefore only detached Scythian districts in a Getan dominion.

In the inscription of Protogenes above mentioned, Scythæ occur as desiring, like other weak tribes, to get possession of Olbia for a shelter from the Galatæ and Sciri⁸.

There was a revival of Scythic energy under King Scilurus and his fifty sons. His son Pallacus was able to carry on the war by fortifications, like the Pontic general Diophantus; and the Scythians fought a naval battle against the other general, Neoptolemus. Of a piece with this advanced civilization are

³ Justin, ix.

⁴ So Bayer.

⁵ Justin, xii. 2. Was this the Zopyrion who besieged Olbia (Macrob. Sat. i. 10)? It is possible, but not probable, the Zopyrion of Justin being prefect of Pontus, and so more likely to be engaged in the east of Scythia.

⁶ Dromichaetes, who captured and dismissed Lysimachus, is called a *Getic* king by Strabo (pp. 209, 211. Casaub.). Cf. Diod. Sic. xix. 73.

⁷ ἡ τῶν Γετῶν ἐρημία, Strabo vii.

⁸ They pay tribute to Saitapharnes, sending it *eis βασιλείαν*. The Herodotean βασιλεία were just north of the Crimea. Pliny mentions Scythæ *Satarochæ* as former inhabitants of the western Crimea. Böckh identifies these with the Sæian people of the inscription.

the coins which have been found with the effigy of Scilurus, and the fame which he has retained for impressing the lesson of unity on his sons by the illustration of a faggot².

Almost synchronous with the pressure of Scyths upon the cities of Chersonesus and Panticapæum, which led to the summoning of succour from Pontus by those cities and the establishment of a Mithridatic dynasty on the Bosporan throne, occurs the first mention of Alani. They broke into Armenia, according to Arrian, about B.C. 90, and are situated usually north or east of the Sea of Azof¹. It was perhaps their neighbourhood that impelled the Scythæ to press upon the Greek towns.

There is no reason to suppose, with Niebuhr, that Scilurus was king of the Tauri. He is called Scyth formally by the Romans³; and Strabo is not likely to have been inaccurate.

The remaining notices of Scyths, *eo nomine*, are unimportant; they allow the restoration of Olbia after its destruction by the Getæ; are joined with the Sarmatians, about Olbia still⁴, in the time of Domitian, when Dio lived; and are besieging Chersonesus in the time of Trajan⁵.

During this period, national distinctions being rapidly changed or lost, occur such compound names as Celtoscyths⁶, and Tauroscythæ, or Scythotauri; the latter, crushed by the Alani about B.C. 62⁶, still troubled the Olbians in the reign of Antoninus Pius. Soon after this they disappear from the Crimea, for in the time of Diocletian it was partitioned between the Chersonesites and Bosporans.

² See Plutarch, Apophth. Reg.

¹ See Lucian, Toxaris 51. Amm. Marcell. joins them with the Scythæ near the Mæotis Palus.

² Memnon in Photius, quoted by Böckh. Memnon is the best authority for this period. Strabo himself, however, had conversed with one of his great-uncles, who had served Mithridates Evergetes.

³ Dio Chrys. Bor. xxxvi.

⁴ Cf. for these events, Böckh, Corp. Inscr. Gr. ii. (Sarmatia).

⁵ Strabo, i.; for the Galatæ, see p. 49. Strabo calls the western Crimea, Scythia minor, and places there *Tauri Georgi*; it was with these that a fragment of the Scythæ coalesced.

⁶ Strabo vii. quoted by Dubois.

But the mass of the Scythic population is to be traced to the Grecian colonial states⁷. As the former were overridden in their proper empire by Sarmatians and Getæ, the latter were continually aggrandized, and that by the addition of a Scythic element. The importance of the corn trade which they carried on with Attica is attested by passages like Dem. xx. 31. Athenian⁸ inscriptions and monuments have been preserved, devised in honour of Bosporite kings, and to commemorate their friendship with the Athenian people. Leucon is celebrated in Greek writers as a great and wise king; the great corn-mart of Theudosia, which he created, was a permanent testimony to his sagacity. The earlier coins of this monarch bear the stamp of a pike, a shield, and a lance. It need not be supposed that he was a Scythian by birth, although he adopted these Scythian emblems. The evidence is rather that Grecian supremacy was very gradually, and not till after a long time, broken down in these republics. The origin of the dynasties of Archeanactidæ and Leuconidæ are alike unknown, so that Wesseling even supposes the former to be possibly a mere formation to connect together the ἀρχαῖοι ἄνακτες. The civil constitutions were retained both in Olbia⁹, which was not subject to τύραννοι; and also in the town of Panticapæum, at least down to the first century after Christ, when Bosporus takes the place of Panticapæum, as name of the town. During all this period it possessed a senate; the kings were ἄρχοντες only¹, in relation to that city, and the latter had a separate privilege of coining money. It is probable that Olbia was the least Hellenic of these two colonies, for the Olbian inscription above mentioned proves that the Scythian dress was then commonly worn, and is also written in somewhat debased Greek.

⁷ Most of the following facts are taken from Böckh, Raoul Rochette, or Cary.

⁸ Cf. Dinarchus contra Dem. p. 34.

⁹ See the inscription for crowning Theocles, dated about the beginning of the Christian era.

¹ According to Böckh, however, Asander, the usurping ἐπίτροπος of Pharnaces, was king, in name, over the Greeks (i.e. Bosporus and Theudosia), as well as the subject barbarians. This was in the time of Augustus.

The Pontic kings of Bosphorus displayed a state and power not unworthy of the successors of Mithridates². They were, it is true, dependent upon Rome, and could not, like their founder, lead Scythians, Thracians, and Bastarnæ to oppose Roman armies in Asia³. But Strabo speaks of Chersonesus, destined to be the last Greek capital in those quarters, as subject in his time to the Bosphorans; and King Polemo, in the time of Augustus, sacked the city of Tanais, which was a great emporium, maintaining factories far up in the interior. These sovereigns were closely allied to a Thracian royal house, probably the Getic successors of Aripharnes and Bærebistas⁴. They treated diplomatically with Rome, and maintained the old reputation of Scythic princes for love of learning and philosophy⁵.

§ 8. As the power of the nomad Scythians declined, the Sauromatæ became strong in the East, and the Getæ in the West. The difference between these two nations was great and striking. The one was amongst the most permanent of nations. It rose up from a long subjection to the Scythians, and re-established without difficulty a perfect unity between its Thracian and Scythian sections. It had been held in high honour by the Greeks; and when, after a severe struggle, it submitted to Rome, the rapidity of its civilization was only equalled by that of Gaul and Spain. The character of the Sarmatians is exactly the opposite of all this. In them the barbarous element overpowered the more civilized. What had been once chiefly Medish, became totally Scythic. Surrounded on all sides at the first by barbarians, the Asiatics had been unable to resist the infection of their manners. Whilst their masters were becoming Greek,

² Their empire in Asia was wider than in Europe, extending to the γῆ Καύκασος, i.e. towards the lower Caucasus.

³ Constantine Porphyrog relates the wars under Diocletian and Constantine:—
α, of Sauromates IV. (of Bosphorus) against Rome.

β, of the Chersonesites, in the Roman interest, against Sauromates IV. and V., which resulted in their conquest of Bosphorus. Then began a second course of Scythian attacks upon the Bosphorans (*Zosimus*, Life of Valerian).

⁴ Cf. Plin. Epist. x. 13, 14, 15.

⁵ See the story in the life of Polemon the Sophist (ap. Philostratum), about a visit which Polemon received at Smyrna from a Bosphoran king.

they became nomad; their old type of nationality passed away, and nothing succeeded to it but what was formed by the soil they trod. They were not Medes, nor Finns, nor Cimmerians, but roving horsemen. We cannot say, as Guizot does, that they were never a distinct race; but no distinction except that of nomad habits remained to them when they came westward into Scythia. As might be expected in such a case, this is of all nations the least enduring in identity, as it is the least stable in abode. They are rapidly mingled with other tribes; no individual character preserves for them a nationality; and no consciousness of difference hinders them from any alliance whatsoever. The most familiar quotation which the name of Sarmatian⁶ recalls, was spoken, not of the true Sauromatæ, but of the Roxolani.

A confusion of blood in semi-civilized races does not appear to produce any good result. It is said that there are semi-Portuguese communities in Malacca, far more savage than the natives that surround them. If so, the Sarmatians supply a parallel. The cruelty of their warfare was unexampled⁷, and community of wives was one of their most characteristic habits⁸.

The early date of their advance has been already noticed; of their identity with the Sauromatæ there was never any doubt, and it is affirmed literally by Pliny⁹. They appear constantly in company with the Jazyges; in Arrian, upon the Danube; in Tacitus¹, upon the Theiss, in Western Dacia; in Strabo (vii. 306) there are Jazyges east of the Tyrigetæ, who were upon the Dniester, just as Sarmatians remained near Olbia in the time of Dio, and about the Mæotis in the time of Lucian². Who the Jazyges were, we cannot say certainly. Scymnus Chius mentions Jaxamatæ south of the true Sauromatæ; the name is pronounced by Latham, Slavonian.

⁶ Tac. Hist. i. 75: "Mirum dictu, ut sit omnis Sarmatarum virtus velut extra ipsos."

⁷ See Diod. Sic. ii. 43.

⁸ Tac. Germ. 46.

⁹ H. N. iv. 25.

¹ Tac. Ann. xii. 29. Here, as in Hist. iii. 5, occurs the double name, Sarmatæ Jazyges.

² The Royal Sarmatians are put by Strabo also between the Dnieper and Dniester. Even so late as A.D. 35, they descend to take part in a Parthian war.

Evidence points to an association in locality between the two peoples at an early period ; it is probable that they contributed towards strengthening the Scythic element of the Sauromatæ ; we should therefore incline to regard them as Scythians, and a branch of the original Σκόλοτοι.

It was probably upon the temporary collapse of the Dacian power after the death of Bærebistas that the Sarmatians, who had previously roamed north of the Danube, passed into Dacia and the borders of Pannonia³. They were in the service of Decebalus ; and his capital, Zermizegethusa, seems to have been named after each of the two nations that fought under him. They are found afterwards in close connexion with many different tribes, the Roxolani, the Suevi (Tac. H. iii. 5), the Marcomanni, and the Vandals ; their chief locality being the Banat, where they lived under Vandal kings. Here they continued till the reign of Constantine, who protected them from the Gothic Araric. Petulantly turning against Rome, they were refused the customary subsidy, and abandoned to the Gothic king, Geberic. Although by arming their slaves, called the Limigantes in after times, they escaped the Gothic vengeance, yet they were presently expelled by the rebellious Limigantes, and disappear from the Banat, partly into the Roman Empire, partly also into the confederacies of the Quadi and the Goths. It is plain that the subject race was bitterly at enmity with the Sarmatians ; and from the continual wars of the latter people against Rome, they must have been themselves greatly exhausted and diminished in numbers. So far, therefore, is the name of Sarmatian from being the ancient representative of the Slavic family, that we should prefer to say that the true Sarmatian blood is more nearly extinct than can be asserted of any other race. It was a race powerful only from its reckless savageness ; and maintained so long chiefly by its promiscuous alliances.

³ Ovid apparently found the south side of the Danube Getic, the north Sarmatian. Cf. *Ibis*, 639 :—

“Denique Sarmaticas inter Geticasque sagittas,
His precor ut vivas et moriari locis.”

Of the Getæ we have already had occasion to make mention frequently. There were, as we have seen, two revivals of Cimmerian power; one, and that the most extensive and permanent, in the West, and headed by a people that had never been conquered; the other in the centre or east of Scythia, under the Saïans, and their king, Saitapharnes. Of the first, or Getic kingdom, the most illustrious periods were the end of the third and the middle of the first century before Christ; under Aripharnes (Diod. xx.), and under Bærebistas. The latter period is exceedingly remarkable. Bærebistas⁴ was advised in his government by a prophet named Decæneus, who introduced Egyptian worship among the Thracians. Inspired perhaps by a religious energy, they made rapid and wide conquests, more ruthless and destructive than was usual with their nation. They devastated the Greek cities as far as Olbia; allowing them, however, to be restored, and even favouring them for the sake of their commerce soon afterwards. They also, says Strabo, exterminated the Boii and Taurisci on the Danube, exciting such alarm that the Romans were preparing to send an expedition against them; when Bærebistas was assassinated. Then followed a sudden collapse of Dacian power, so that we do not hear of any more Dacian movements of importance for a century.

Bayer has propounded an ingenious theory, that after the death of Bærebistas, Decæneus led away a multitude of Dacian subjects to the Baltic, effected great conquests, and became the wizard-hero of tradition, Odin. That the name of Odin is connected with Budinus, that the worship of Thor would be connected with the Thracian *Θούρρας*, and the classical affinities of Lithuanian Slavonic speech accounted for, are some of the points comprised in this comprehensive speculation. It⁵ is a magnificent structure, but built upon sand. In the latter part

⁴ Jornandes calls him a Sitalcian.

⁵ For, 1. Jornandes represents Decæneus as flourishing in the time of Sylla; he was probably dead before Bærebistas, although it is the country of centenarian heroes. 2. The *Gothic* name is found in the Baltic before this time; so there is no necessity to carry the Getæ thither so violently. 3. There is no evidence for the event whatever.

of the first century P.C. falls the career of Decebalus, closing brilliantly the history of the Dacians. They became, as subjects of Rome, a respectable and progressive people; upon the abandonment of the province most of them withdrew into Mæsia, but doubtless many remained. The modern Wallachians are therefore substantially of this stock⁶.

§ 9. Before returning to the Alani, and Sacæ, we must enumerate the non-Scythic populations which entered from the North-west and West, into the Scythian regions. These were principally four, Gauls, Bastarnæ, Roxolani, and Goths.

We have mentioned the presence of the Gauls at Olbia; about 180 years before that period, and soon after the sack of Rome, they had driven the Triballi out of Servia. Niebuhr acutely remarks that the slave-names of the new Attic comedy, Davus and Geta, indicate an extensive captivity of Dacians, which can have been caused by nothing else than the inroads of these very Gauls.

The Bastarnæ who occurred incidentally as gaining the battle of Chalcedon for Mithridates, had been moving for some time upon the Dniester and Danube. It is difficult to understand why Tacitus doubts (*Germ. sub fin.*) about their nationality, when he tells us that they were like Germans "*sermone, cultu, sede, et domiciliis*;" but they had then received the impress of a Scythic people by adopting nomadic habits for five or six generations.

The Roxolani are of somewhat more dubious origin. However, we have no evidence of their being seated farther east than the position which Strabo names, north of the Bastarnæ, about the upper⁷ Volga (?) and Dnieper; and the Finnish termination of the name is insufficient evidence to establish their Finnish descent. They came to succour Scilurus, and appear in Mæsia under the name of Sarmatæ Roxolani⁸, A.D. 62. They were

⁶ Max Müller's view, that they are chiefly Sarmatian, does not agree so well with the character and history of either people.

⁷ This has been noticed previously.

⁸ They appear to have become closely connected with the Sarmatians and Jazyges, as they are placed with the latter by Ptolemy (iii. 5), on the shore of the *Palus Mæotis*.

afterwards subject to the Ostrogoths, and it was by the hands of some among them that Hermanric was assassinated in the Hunnish war.

The Goths are of greater importance. They were a strange phenomenon in Scythia; they fought on foot⁹, and yet subdued the nomad tribes on their own ground. Excepting them, no non-Turanian people had ever established an empire over the Scythians, which had its seat in the Scythic regions. The reason is, that from the first, although not strictly nomad, they had all the reckless security which constitutes the strength of nomads. They were barbarians to whom fortune early revealed the value of strong limbs and physical courage. It was unfortunate for their immediate civilization, that the country in which they settled was one which has never failed to perpetuate or create barbarism. Under other local influences they were most easily humanized; in the Scythian deserts, they were changed, only to become themselves Scyths.

Although there is no trace of any relationship, further than their common Aryanism, between the Getæ and the Goths, yet these appear, like the former, to have been engaged from their earliest history in struggles against the Ugrian nations of the North. This antagonism was continued in Scythia; in the Eastern and Western Empire; and was not ended when the latter, with its semi-Hunnish ruler, Orestes, fell before the Gothic Odoacer.

For the first forty years after their descent upon the Ukraine, their assaults upon the Roman territory displayed some moderation. Philip was able to save his provinces from devastation by paying the price. If the inroad of King Oniva in the time of Decius was more destructive, we may perhaps attribute this partly to the Sarmatians who were associated in it. When they had obtained possession of the Crimea, their successive maritime expeditions, eastward to Pityus and Trapezus, westward to

⁹ Dubois remarks that they alone of all the nations who have migrated between Scythia and the west of Europe, appear to have crossed the great marsh of Pinsk.

Bithynia, and finally to Athens, were all remarkable rather for boldness in the execution and conception, than for that vastness of scale which is proper to a Scythian invasion. But upon the expedition of 269, which ended so disastrously, their entire strength was hazarded; and when the wreck of that host, with their reinforcements from home, had been settled by Aurelian in Dacia, little was left to maintain the old kingdom in Scythia. Even in the second generation, this branch of the Goths was hardly a match for the Chersonites¹. It is probable that the strength of the Ostrogoths was somewhat restored at the time of the conquests of Hermanric; but if his ascendancy was principally a personal one, we may conclude that the principal Gothic population was still to be found in the western part of Scythia, from which proceeded his conquests of Venedi and Heruli, and the disastrous interposition of Athanaric in the affairs of the Roman empire. When, therefore, the Huns assailed the Goths, the assault was directed against their weakest point. The best part of the nation was that which, under the Visigothic king Fritigern, and accompanied by a fragment of the Ostrogoths, perhaps not much more considerable than their miscellaneous following of Sarmatians and Huns, entered the province of Mæsia, and finally submitted to Theodosius in A.D. 382. But the Ostrogoths had not merely, through what we may venture to call their more complete Scythism, exhausted their numbers and power; they had also become, like true savages, incapable of supporting without reluctance the permanent restraint of provincial life. Many of them withdrew in a short time from their new settlements, and collecting on the higher Danube, gathered around them a promiscuous host of Germans and Sarmatians. It was not till after a defeat in the field, that they were compelled to abandon themselves to the disposition of Theodosius, partly entering the Roman military service, partly distributed in the countries of Thrace and Hither Asia, the heart of his empire.

¹ A.D. 332. For all this period, see Milman's ed. of Gibbon.

It was nearly one thousand years before, that the southern steppes of Russia and the shore of the Black Sea had presented a scene almost similar to that which we have now reached. There was an Aryan people in possession, which infested the Euxine with its maritime excursions, but whose most powerful tribes lay upon the shores of the Danube. The Finns from the North-east, whose career had begun in both instances with a raid upon Asia by the Caucasus, were establishing their natural dominion in Scythia; in either case the Aryan population was partly assimilated, partly expelled, partly left in possession. The Gothic Tetraxitæ of the Crimea were as permanent as had been the agricultural Cimmerians around the colony of Olbia. The Gothic character had been influenced by the nature of the country, even as Homer knew the Cimmerians for ἀγροὶ ἐπιτημολογοί. Lastly, the great body of the Ostrogoths was united to the restless army of the Huns, just as a large portion of the agricultural Scythians must have been absorbed into the nomad hordes around them.

§ 10. During the prolonged division and enfeeblement of the Scythian nations, Asia was almost free from trans-Caucasian invasion. The history of Parthia contains frequent notices of the name; but they refer, perhaps in every case, to the Sacan tribes beyond the Caspian. Some of these are continually taking a part in the revolutions of their southern neighbours. They were in the service of Spitumenes, when he acted against Alexander in Sogdiana; and were called in by Antiochus to oppose the Parthian Phraates. But they seem to have been most closely connected with the Arsacid dynasty of Parthia. The first Arsaces is called a Scythian by race; the Parthian prince Artabanus (A.D. 35) was brought up among that people; and they had taken the part of Phraates IV. in his rivalry with Tiridates. This intimacy, however, did not forbid them to enter into lawless hostility, or even national wars², against

² As, in the first century B.C., against Mithridates II. Cf. also the wars mentioned by Justin, xli. The Antiochus of Justin xlii., against whom those Scythians

Parthia. The northern nations engaged in the affairs of the later Persian Empire, were principally not Finnish³. However, it is supposed by some that the Chionitæ, who were allied with Sapor against Julian, were true Huns; and we shall find at a later period two certain Hunnish invasions of Persia.

§ 11. It was noticed above⁴, that the first appearance of the Alani corresponded in time with that pressure of the Scyths upon Bosphorus, which compelled it, like Olbia, to solicit the protection of Mithridates. We hear of them again in the first century of our era as troubling Cappadocia and the Tauroscyths on the Mæotis. We know, however, from the mention of Sarmatæ in Tac. Ann. vi. 33. 35, apparently as the leading nation north of the Caucasus, that the power of the Alani at that period (A.D. 35) had not become very prominent. Their subsequent career was not dissimilar to that of the Sarmatians. A portion of them advanced westward, and accompanied the Suevi and Vandals into Spain, from whence a body followed Genseric into Africa. In the Visigothic kingdom on the Garonne there remained a tribe of Alani, still nomad and still governed by their own king, in the time of Attila's invasion. Others again accompanied the hosts of Attila himself; and a third portion⁵ remained in the East, and revolted from the Huns during Attila's absence, A.D. 451.

§ 12. The Alani constitute an important link between the ancient Scythians and the Huns. Lucian considers them Scythic in all particulars, except the manner of wearing their hair. Ammianus states that they were the same as the Massagetæ⁶, and resembled the Huns exactly.

A century and a half before the Huns passed the Volga, we were engaged, who mutinied and devastated Parthia, may have been one of the kings of Commagene.

³ See above, page 21.

⁴ See page 30.

⁵ These are placed by Ammianus to the south and south-east of the Huns proper.

⁶ Notwithstanding this, the name of the Massagetæ occurs again in Procopius (Bell. Vand. i. 4); where they are found in the army of Attila.

are told by the Armenian historians⁷ that a host of Khazars fought against the Armenians near Derbend. Dionysius Periegetes⁸, who, but for this statement, would be regarded as of an earlier period than the fourth century of our era, speaks of the Huns upon the west side of the Caspian. The occurrence of their name in Ptolemy has been already noticed. Their manners were those of Scythians; they were said to have no religion (Amm. Marc. xxxi. 2); they divined with rods (Amm. xxxi. 3); they venerated the sword as the emblem of sovereignty (Jornandes, xxxv.). Such is the evidence, taken together with their connexion with the Alani, for their identification with some people north-east of the Volga, closely related to the nomad Scythians of Herodotus. The inference must stand, as there is no evidence whatever that they came from Asia in historical times; they thrust no nations before them upon the Alani; all that we are told is, that they passed the Volga.

It was in the year 374 that the Huns fell upon the Alani, most of whom attached themselves to the conquerors. Together they destroyed the empire of Hermanric, and before the close of the century established the Royal Horde upon the Danube. The impulse of their attack agitated and drove before it a mingled host of peoples on the west of Scythia, who pressed forward on their own account under the command of the Scythic Goth, Radagaisus. Huns were joined with Goths and Germans in these inroads upon the Western Empire; in the battle of Florence (B.C. 405), some of that nation were engaged in the service of Rome, and their troops were still more numerous in the service of Placidia.

From their seat upon the Danube, where Roas was left in government, Octar, the father of Attila, led an army against the Burgundians in Helvetia. The expedition failed; but Roas in the East maintained the national ascendancy. He received

⁷ Cited by Dubois.

⁸ This mention is Bernhardy's chief argument for assigning him to a date not earlier than the fourth century.

tribute from Theodosius II., disguised but slightly under the name of pay to an officer in the Imperial service. He propounded the doctrine that the Danube was the only natural frontier of the Huns. His nephews, Attila and Bleda, succeeded him in his throne and in his pretensions, all of which, and more, they extorted from the Romans, in the treaty of Margus (A.D. 434). Attila, receiving the submission of the Huns who had gone westward, placed his capital in the modern Hungary, whilst his son Ellacus was established in a subordinate government upon the Don, where the Khazars, who then occupied the Alanian country, had responded to Roman intrigues by summoning the aid of Attila.

Down to the year 450 Attila continued to ravage and hector over the Eastern Empire. During an invasion of Pannonia he was joined by Orestes, who afterwards became *Magister Militum* to Nepos, and was the father of the last Emperor of the West, Augustulus. It is needless to record the miserable proceedings of Theodosius, and the moral as well as political degradation of his reign. When he was succeeded in 450 by Marcianus, Attila was contemplating war in three distant quarters. His heralds were despatched to Rome and Constantinople to demand in each place a palace for the coming lord of the Cæsars. And he was designing a war against Persia, which, we learn⁹, was not the first carried by the Huns into that country. From the language of Priscus, it is possible that Huns may have been among the enemies with whom Bahran contended in his late years.

The war which he chose was that which promised the smallest difficulties. The new Emperor of the East was possessed of energy and a sense of dignity; Attila therefore turned towards the West. His inclinations were confirmed by two circumstances; a brother of the king who reigned over the Franks upon the Neckar was led by his own ambition to urge the designs of Attila; and the African Genseric, who had deeply outraged Theodoric, was anxious to protect himself beforehand

⁹ Priscus, *Exc. Leg.* p. 65.

by an alliance with the Huns from the consequences of the Visigoth's revenge. The immediate attack of Attila was to be upon the latter; Genseric would operate directly against Rome. His intentions thus defined, Attila had no difficulty in providing pretexts. To the Romans he announced his desire of reducing certain fugitive subjects who had established themselves in Gaul; trusting that they would not interfere between a monarch and his righteous vengeance upon rebels. To the Visigoth he proclaimed a grievance, which indeed he had a short time previously put forth at Rome also; that the Romans wronged him in withholding his affianced wife, the sister of Valentinian III., who should have brought him for portion one half of the Western Empire. In doing him this injustice, he desired that they should not be supported by his fellow-barbarian Theodoric.

In this great war, which was, to speak broadly, one of the savage world against civilization, the most remarkable feature was the division of kindred nations. But in the ranks of Rome few Scythians found a place. The king of the Alani in Gaul, rightly suspected of an understanding with the Huns, was shut out of Orleans, and watched in the decisive battle. Attila's host, on the other hand, included not only Scythians, but all such barbarians as had not yet adopted a provincial and orderly life. It included men like Odoacer, who destroyed the Roman Empire in Italy; and the father of Theodoric, who replaced it by a less pretentious but more substantial fabric.

We cannot detail the fortunes of Attila. After his death, several tribes, German and Finnish¹, when Orestes refused their insolent demand, descended into Italy, led by Odoacer, to accomplish for themselves the partition of its soil. In the host which remained, the union of Huns and Germans was dissolved by the proposal to divide the Empire among the sons of Attila. After a sanguinary struggle, the Gepidæ, who had led the German opposition, seized upon Dacia; the Suevi fixed themselves in

¹ The Rugii, the Sciri, and the Tureilingi.

Noricum; and the Ostrogoths in Pannonia. The Huns retired beyond the Lower Danube, but returned in A.D. 455 to an unsuccessful attack upon the Ostrogoths.

A schism then appeared in their councils. One division, under Hernach, a prince who recalls the ancient characters of Anacharsis and Scyles, renounced their nomad life, and settled, with the consent of the Romans, in the Dobrudsha². They were joined by a portion of the Alani; and followed in a few years by other detachments, among which the name of Sarmatians is again found, which extended themselves westward as far as the Pannonian frontier.

Though divided, the two Hunnish communities were not at first unfriendly. When the Nomads debated upon a renewal of the war with Rome, Hernach was in their councils, and dissuaded it by the important statement, that their brethren the Saraguri and Acatziri³ were actually engaged in hostilities with Persia. This was in the year 467. Moreover, the Nomads still professed, as representing the centre of the nation, to maintain a kind of protectorate over the rest, which they twice attempted to enforce, but each time with disastrous consequences, against the Romans and the Ostrogoths. In one of his raids against the former, King Dengizich gathered to his standard the predatory Goths who infested Mount Hæmus; and it was the mutiny of these, who yielded to Roman intrigue, which consummated the catastrophe that the Roman tactics had prepared.

A small tribe of Huns had remained among the Gepidæ under Gheism, a son of Attila. His son Mundus, after leading for some time the life of a brigand, submitted to Theodoric; and afterwards entering the service of Justinian, became prefect of Illyria. It was thus that the leaders and people of Scythia became distributed among the southern populations.

At the end of the fifth century of our era, the ethnical cha-

² Called by Jornandes, *Scythia minor*. This name was probably received only after the period of this settlement.

³ We must suppose that these were among the Huns against whom Peroses met his death in battle.

racter of Scythia differed but little from that in the time of Herodotus. The old Finns had probably retired a little towards the North, and the Slavic⁴ nation advanced towards the East. West of the Tanais were the Cuturguri, in the pay of Justinian ; east of it, the Uturguri ; surrounding them were Ugrians, east of the Volga ; Bulgarians, on the higher Volga, which derived its name from them ; west of the Bulgarians in order, the Slavic tribes called Antes, Sloveni, and Venedi. The southern extension of the Slaves was heralded by the alliance which threatened the Roman Empire in A.D. 498, called by an uncouth name⁵, which signified its composition of Huns, Antes, and Bulgarians.

§ 13. The Hungarian nation is known to be essentially Finnish. Was it composed of Scythian (Hunnish) elements ? Excluding the Turk Cumanians, we will endeavour to answer this question. At a somewhat earlier period than the one of which we have been speaking, Central Asia had been subject to a powerful and conquering race, called Avars. They were supplanted by the Turks ; both were Tartar races. In the reign of Justinian, a people, recognized as Huns (that is, as Finns, probably Ugrians), appeared from the East, calling themselves Avars, and flying from the Turkish dominion. They pleased themselves with the appellation of their former conquerors, and by way of honour⁶ called their monarch by the Tartar title of Chagan. That they were Ugrian or Hunnish no one doubted : they employed the same interpreter as the Huns, therefore their language was the same ; and consequently they were known as False Avars. But the pretence lent to them both vigour and prestige, so that they established a dominion over the whole of Scythia, penetrated

⁴ Max Müller observes, that the geographical names in central Germany prove an ancient Slavish population to have been situated there. But Prichard is right in tracing the modern Slaves almost entirely to the three tribes mentioned below. The Sarmatians were not a nation ; although undoubtedly much of the modern populations on both sides of the central Danube is sprung from tribes who were included under that name, the adoption of which was, in fact, a negation of pure nationality.

⁵ Οὐννοβοუნδοβούλγαροι. Theophan. Chron. p. 296 ; quoted by Thierry.

⁶ Theophylact, Simoc. vii. 7.

up the Danube, and formed the first stratum of the modern Hungarian people.

In the beginning of the seventh century, those Khazars who had appeared in the eastern Caucasus at the end of the second, and who were subjected, with the exception of a single tribe, to Ellak, the son of Attila, were again invading Persia under the title of Turks. They had submitted to a Turkish supremacy, and, like the false Avars, called their ruler Chagan. The dominion exercised over them by the Turks, if it had ever been more than nominal, rapidly disappeared. In the ninth century, their chagan was established in the Crimea, dominant over the surrounding nations. Immediately north of the Crimea, and tributary to the Chazars, were the *Ῥονγοῦροι*, or Hunugari, who had been known to Jornandes as a people of Upper Scythia, through whom came the traffic in furs, which has always been carried on in the upper belt of Scythia and in Siberia. Upon an invasion of the Patzinacitæ, the Hunugari fled, partly to the southern shores of the Caspian, partly up the valley of the Danube to Hungary. Here they were presently joined by many of the Khazars, one of whose tribes was that of the Mogers or Magyars.

Thus all the constituent portions of the Hungarian name were Scythian, or Hunnish; and agreeably with this result it is found that the only words of the language of the Huns which are preserved, are good Hungarian⁷. Some weight is also to be assigned to the Hungarian traditions connecting Attila with their race; but as we only possess these in the form which was given to them by the monkish writers of Christian Hungary, it is impossible to say how far the Magyar people really regarded themselves as kinsmen of the nation of Attila. Probably there were Huns still to be found in the country⁸, among the pre-Hun-

⁷ These are two: *vadon* "a steppe;" *var*, "a fortress or bulwark." Cf. Thierry, vol. i. p. 243, note. Throughout all the latter part of this Essay, the work of Amédée Thierry ("Histoire des Huns") has been my best authority. But I demur to his applying the term "White Huns" to the Ugrians east of the Volga.

⁸ See Thierry, vol. ii. page 344.

garian population, who might preserve a remembrance of their history; any such isolated tradition would be greedily adopted, and improved by the diligent antiquarianism of learned Magyars.

§ 14. In order to give any positive ethnical determination to the Scythic name, it was necessary to trace its connexion with a modern people whose affinities are well ascertained. It was a name that belonged to Finnish Turanians, to a race which occupied the plains of Russia eastward to considerably beyond the Asiatic frontier; whose character, when we meet them in the time of Herodotus, had been formed by a history and associations of a singularly uniform and unvaried kind. Setting apart the pre-historic Turanians of the Crimea, the Scythian Finns of Herodotus had no experience of a life other than nomadic. It is for this reason that we have distinguished them from the agricultural Scyths. And the pre-historic Turanians, or Tchudes, in all probability entered Europe by the same route. Even when confined to the Crimea, half of them retained their roaming, savage life. Therefore, as there is evidence of an intermediate section of Aryans in the south of Scythia, whose manner of life and disposition, formed under other geographical conditions, had been only modified and partially altered by the influence of the Scythian soil, we have preferred to assign the agricultural Scyths to this race rather than the Tchudic. Whether or not they had entirely adopted the language of the Nomads, we cannot say. If they had not, we could scarcely expect to learn the fact from Herodotus; if they had, there are not wanting other instances of an equally rapid prevalence gained by a Turanian tongue.

But the term Scythian was from the first, and has continued ever since, rather geographical than ethnical. The region has conferred the name upon its inhabitants, of whatever race. Are we to infer that the successive populations of Scythia have more in common than those of other countries? Undoubtedly they have. What then is their common character, and what is its cause?

Inasmuch as tribes and individuals are more or less cultivated and humanized, their respective characters diverge from or approach to a common type. Successive nations in Scythia have in this sense approached more nearly than the inhabitants of any other country to a common type; the resemblance between them, so far as it exists, is fundamental, physical and moral.

If, then, they are alike in the same sense in which all primitive and savage peoples are alike, the cause is not far to seek. It is a common barbarism.

Whence this perpetual barbarism? Other regions are at some time or other redeemed from it; Scythia continues now what it was three thousand years ago. Let us see in what way other countries have been civilized. The first means is to exterminate the savages. It has never been applied to Scythia, on account of the extent and continuity of the steppes. If it had been applied, it must have been by so ruthless a race, that we may suppose they would have failed in their turn to resist the barbarizing influences of a pastoral life. A second means of civilization is the introduction and fusion of a more advanced nation among the old inhabitants. This method requires a certain amount of regular intercourse between the two races, intercourse such as can only take place when tribes are in some degree stationary. It is therefore precluded in Scythia by the absence of conditions necessary for agriculture. But there is yet a third way: a nation may civilize itself by gradual imitation of its neighbours. This is a still slower process than the last; the reason it has not taken place in Scythia is, that it has always hitherto been interrupted by some of those violent movements to which nomad populations are liable. But it is the only process of the three which can be conceived as practicable in such a case as the present. The conditions have become more favourable in modern times. Scythia is constrained by a foreign master; the danger of violent concussions within its borders is considerably less. Moreover, it is now enclosed on almost every

side by settled nations subject to the same crown, whose intercourse with the Nomads is therefore not likely to be broken off by any conflict.

One contingency alone can make the result doubtful. It is that the Russian Empire may be dismembered before the end is gained. This can only happen if its rulers are diverted into schemes of ambition which may entail a desperate contest with the rest of Europe.

In such an event, would the world need in future to dread a nomad irruption like those which have taken place before? Although the Roman Empire was depopulated, Attila failed to overthrow it. The countries of modern Europe are not likely to be depopulated like the Roman provinces; and they would be as much of one mind in resisting such an enemy as were the semi-civilized allies of Rome. Even could a Tartar host provide itself with constant supplies of arms as perfect as our own, it would be baffled by fortifications stronger than those which delayed Attila at Metz and Aquileia; and no rapidity of destruction could hinder the defensive armies from finding an advantage in railways and electric wires. So far as we can judge, therefore, Europe is not destined again to pass through the process of regeneration at the hands of savages. What is called by that name is, in truth, a regeneration of nobody but the savages themselves; and it is the least desirable means of bringing them within the pale of humanity, for they are both made a curse themselves, and leave their deserts behind them to breed a fresh curse for future ages.

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